

## Message Text

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ACTION AF-06

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INFO AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM

AMEMBASSY GABORONE

AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

AMEMBASSY NAIROBI

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 LONDON 03156

CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: PFOR, TZ, XA

SUBJECT: TANZANIAN FOREIGN MINISTER TALKS ON THE LIBERA-  
TION OF AFRICA, PROBLEMS AND PROSPECTS

REF: DAR ES SALAAM 0605

1. SUMMARY: TANZANIAN FOREIGN MINISTER JOHN S. MALECELA  
CAME TO LONDON ON FEBRUARY 27-28 TO ADDRESS A JOINT MEET-  
ING OF THE ROYAL AFRICA AND ROYAL COMMONWEALTH SOCIETIES,  
TO ATTEND THE INAUGURAL OF THE TANZANIA-BRITISH SOCIETY  
AND TO MEET WITH BRITISH FOREIGN SECRETARY CALLAGHAN. IN  
HIS SPEECH, MALECELA DEALT MAINLY WITH RHODESIA AND  
STRESSED THE URGENCY OF FORWARD MOVEMENT ON A NEGOTIATED  
SETTLEMENT FOR MAJORITY RULE TO AVOID A BLOODY AND COSTLY  
WAR OF LIBERATION. HE CALLED ON THE BRITISH TO BRING  
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MORE PRESSURE ON SMITH AND TO CALL A CONSTITUTIONAL CON-

REFERENCE, AND ON THE WEST AT LARGE TO "STEP UP THE CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE FORCES OF EVIL IN SOUTHERN AFRICA." THE BRITISH, OF COURSE, DO NOT HAVE THAT KIND OF LEVERAGE WITH SMITH AND CONTINUE TO BELIEVE THAT SMITH WOULD NOT RESPOND TO A CALL FOR A CONFERENCE FROM LONDON. MALECELA DID NOT MENTION THE MAIN PROBLEMS IN RHODESIA OF: A) READING SMITH'S INTENTIONS, AND B) THE MODALITIES FOR PROCEEDING TO MAJORITY RULE. END SUMMARY.

2. TANZANIAN FOREIGN MINISTER MALECELA, VISITING LONDON ON FEBRUARY 27 AND 28, ADDRESSED A COMBINED MEETING OF THE ROYAL AFRICA SOCIETY AND THE ROYAL COMMONWEALTH SOCIETY ON THE 27TH ON THE LIBERATION OF AFRICA, PROBLEMS AND PROSPECTS. THE SPEECH AND QUESTIONS AFTER DEALT ALMOST ENTIRELY WITH RHODESIA, BUT ALSO TOUCHED ON SEVERAL GENERAL POINTS CONCERNING LIBERATION IN SOUTHERN AFRICA.

3. MALECELA'S MAIN POINTS ON RHODESIA WERE THAT THE AFRICAN NATIONALISTS PREFER TO ACHIEVE THEIR GOAL OF MAJORITY RULE PEACEFULLY AND NOW IS THE TIME FOR THE SMITH REGIME TO COME TO A MEANINGFUL AGREEMENT. THE LEADERS OF TANZANIA, ZAMBIA, BOTSWANA AND FRELIMO ARE BEING PUSHED HARD BY THE "IMPATIENT YOUNG MEN" IN THE LIBERATION MOVEMENTS WHO HAVE NO CONFIDENCE IN THE FOUR LEADERS' ABILITY TO NEGOTIATE MAJORITY RULE WITH SMITH. THIS ATTITUDE IS ONE WITH WHICH THE PRESIDENTS OF TANZANIA, ZAMBIA, BOTSWANA AND FRELIMO HAVE TO CONTEND DAILY, AND IT LIMITS THE TIME FRAME WITHIN WHICH THEY CAN WORK TO ACHIEVE A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT. SO FAR, MALECELA SAID, "DESPITE THEIR RECENT POLITICAL STANCES, THE RULING MINORITIES IN SOUTHERN AFRICA HAVE NOT MADE GENUINE AND MEANINGFUL CONCESSIONS." THEREFORE, THE QUESTION WHETHER THERE WILL BE FURTHER CONFRONTATION AND CONFLICT OR CONCILIATION AND COOPERATION IS STILL WITH US.

4. IN ANSWERING A ZANU MEMBER DURING QUESTION TIME, MALECELA SAID IT WAS A TERRIBLE MISTAKE TO BELIEVE THAT TANZANIA, BOTSWANA AND ZAMBIA BELIEVED SMITH WOULD HOLD TO A CEASEFIRE. WHAT THE THREE COUNTRIES HAD DONE WAS TO NOTE "SOME SLIGHT CHANGE" IN RHODESIA, HEARD THAT SMITH

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MIGHT LIKE TO TALK AND THEN NEGOTIATED THE RELEASE OF SITHOLE AND NKOMO. NOW THAT THE LIBERATION MOVEMENTS ARE UNITED IN THE ANC, IT IS UP TO THE ANC AND THE THREE PRESIDENTS, PLUS SAMORA MACHEL, TO DO WHAT THE ANC WANTS, INCLUDING TO AGREE WITH THE ANC IF THE ANC CONCLUDES FURTHER TALKS WOULD BE FUTILE. THAT IS WHY HE HAD USED THIS SPEECH TO CONVEY TO SMITH THE IMPATIENCE OF PEOPLE LIKE THE QUESTIONER.

5. MALECELA ALSO DEALT WITH THE BRITISH ROLE IN A RHODESIAN SETTLEMENT, AND PUT A GREAT DEAL OF EMPHASIS ON THE TIES BETWEEN BRITAIN AND WHITE RHODESIANS AND ASSIGNED CONSIDERABLE IMPORTANCE TO BRITAIN'S ABILITY TO INFLUENCE THE SMITH REGIME. HE EMPHASIZED THE BRITISH RIGHT TO PLAY A ROLE IN THE RHODESIAN SETTLEMENT ON THE GROUNDS

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THAT THE UNITED KINGDOM ADMITS THAT IT STILL REMAINS THE LEGAL ADMINISTRATIVE AUTHORITY OVER RHODESIA. THE OAU IN GENERAL AND TANZANIA, ZAMBIA AND BOTSWANA IN PARTICULAR ARE DOING EVERYTHING POSSIBLE TO HELP THE UNITED KINGDOM BRING ABOUT A PEACEFUL SOLUTION.

6. DURING THE QUESTION AND ANSWER PERIOD, MALECELA DEALT

WITH SANCTIONS, WHICH, TOGETHER WITH MILITARY AND OTHER PRESSURES, HAD BEEN EFFECTIVE. CONTINUED WESTERN SUPPORT TO THE MINORITY REGIMES, PARTICULARLY IN THE ECONOMIC AND MILITARY FIELDS, WAS ROUNDLY CASTIGATED BY MALECELA. HE PARTICULARLY ACCUSED THE "REACTIONARY WESTERN TRANSNATIONAL CORPORATIONS" CITING THE CONTINUED PURCHASES OF RHODESIAN CHROME BY THE US.

7. QUOTING PRESIDENT NYERERE AND ON HIS OWN, MALECELA IN-  
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SISTED THAT AFRICA IS DETERMINED ON ONE THING, THAT THE TRANSFER OF POWER TO THE MAJORITY MUST BE COMPLETED BEFORE INDEPENDENCE IS GRANTED IN BOTH RHODESIA AND NAMIBIA. ONLY THEN CAN INDEPENDENCE BE RECOGNIZED AND IN THE CASE OF RHODESIA SANCTIONS LIFTED.

8. THROUGHOUT, HE STRESSED THAT BOTH SMITH AND VORSTER MUST REALIZE THE FUTILITY OF BEING ABLE TO DEFEAT THE FREEDOM MOVEMENTS MILITARILY AND THAT IF PEACEFUL PROGRESS IS NOT POSSIBLE, THE AFRICANS HAVE NO ALTERNATIVE BUT "TO TAKE UP ARMS, FIGHT AND KILL AND DIE FOR THEIR FREEDOM UNTIL INDEPENDENCE ON THE BASIS OF MAJORITY RULE IS ACHIEVED OR UNTIL THE RACISTS ARE WILLING TO TALK REALISTICALLY." AT THE SAME TIME IN THE QUESTION PERIOD HE STRESSED THE STRONG CONVICTION THAT IF THE PRESENT OPPORTUNITY FOR PEACEFUL NEGOTIATIONS FAILS, THE NEXT SUCH OPPORTUNITY WOULD NOT COME UNTIL AFTER MUCH BLOODSHED AND SUFFERING. IN THIS CONNECTION, TIME IS ON THE SIDE OF THE AFRICANS BECAUSE THE PROBLEMS FOR THE MINORITY REGIMES, PARTICULARLY IN RHODESIA, ARE INCREASING IN THE MILITARY AND ECONOMIC SPHERE AND THE AFRICAN PEOPLES ARE NOW MORE UNITED THAN EVER.

9. MALECELA SAID THAT HE HAD DELIBERATELY NOT DEVOTED MUCH TIME TO SOUTH AFRICA IN HIS SPEECH BECAUSE OF THE OAU DECISION AT ADDIS ABABA LAST WEEK TO CONVENE A SPECIAL SESSION IN DAR TO DISCUSS APARTHEID -- THE CRUCIAL QUESTION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

10. IN GENERAL TERMS MALECELA APPEALED TO THE PEOPLE OF BRITAIN AND THE WEST AT LARGE TO "STEP UP THE CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE FORCES OF EVIL IN SOUTHERN AFRICA." HE DID NOT SAY WHAT HE EXPECTED IN A SPECIFIC WAY, BUT DURING THE QUESTION AND ANSWER PERIOD, HE CALLED ON GREAT BRITAIN TO USE ITS INFLUENCE AND PRESSURE ON SMITH AND HIS PEOPLE TO CONVINCE THEM THAT NOW IS THE TIME FOR A SOLUTION. IN THIS CONNECTION HE CALLED FOR MOVEMENT TOWARD A CONSTITUTIONAL CONFERENCE ON THE GROUNDS THAT THE IMPATIENT YOUNG MEN IN AFRICA WOULD NOT WAIT FOR OPINION TO

FORM INSIDE RHODESIA AND THAT IF THESE PEOPLE FEEL THERE  
IS NO HOPE FOR A CONSTITUTIONAL CONFERENCE, THEY WILL GO  
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BACK TO FIGHTING AND IT WILL BE IMPOSSIBLE TO GET BACK TO  
THE CONFERENCE TABLE. THEREFORE, GREAT BRITAIN SHOULD  
USE ALL ITS INFLUENCE TO ASSURE THAT SMITH AGREES TO THE  
HOLDING OF A CONSTITUTIONAL CONFERENCE.

11. TEXT BEING POUCHED TO DEPARTMENT AND EMBASSY DAR ES

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ACTION AF-06

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SALAAM.

12. FOREIGN SECRETARY CALLAGHAN IS HOSTING A WORKING LUNCH FOR MALECELA ON THE 28TH.

13. COMMENT: WHILE THERE IS LITTLE NEW IN MALECELA'S SPEECH, ITS MAIN PURPOSE WAS TO RE-EMPHASIZE THE SUPREME IMPORTANCE OF CONTINUED FORWARD MOVEMENT IN THE CURRENT NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN THE AFRICAN NATIONALISTS AND THE SMITH AND VORSTER REGIMES. HE DID ADMIT THAT DEVELOPMENTS IN THE PAST TWLEVE MONTHS, AND IN PARTICULAR, THE PAST SIX MONTHS, PERMIT A REASSESSMENT OF THE PROSPECTS FOR FURTHER CHANGES IN ZIMBABWE AND NAMIBIA, AND IMPLIED THAT THE BASIC PROBLEM OF HOW TO BRING GREATER PRESSURE ON SMITH REMAINS UNSOLVED. SMITH'S INTENTIONS ARE STILL UNKNOWN. ASSISTANT UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE AT THE FOR-  
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EIGN AND COMMONWEALTH OFFICE, NORMAN ASPIN, WHO ATTENDED THE MEETING COMMENTED TO AN EMBASSY OFFICER THAT MALECELA OVERESTIMATED BRITISH INFLUENCE ON SMITH AND HIS SUPPORTERS. AS FOR THE WEST IN GENERAL, INCLUDING THE US, MALECELA OBVIOUSLY MEANT THAT THEY SHOULD SUPPORT THE AFRICAN STRUGGLE AT LEAST BY CALLING ON SMITH TO ADOPT A REALISTIC NEGOTIATING POSITION. FINALLY, MALECELA GAVE NO INDICATION OF ANY DISCUSSIONS BETWEEN THE INTERLOCUTORS IN ZIMBABWE ON THE MODALITIES OF PROCEEDING TO MAJORITY RULE, WHICH TOGETHER WITH SMITH'S INTENTIONS REMAIN THE KEY PROBLEMS. END COMMENT.

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